

Scrutinizing Schwa in Pakistani English Phonology

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the distinct phonological feature in Pakistani English with exclusive reference to schwa, a mid-central weak vowel in English. This phoneme has a vital role in giving Pakistani English a unique phonological characteristic in the sub-continent. The present work uses descriptive method to analyze a phonetic pattern influenced by orthography. The study investigates by giving participants a list of commonly used words containing schwa. The age of participants ranges from nineteen to twenty-two and they are male and female students of a private sector university in Lahore, Pakistan. Their pronunciation is recorded in a quiet and non-interruptive atmosphere and compared with Received Pronunciation (RP). The recorded responses are compared to Standard British English Pronunciation by using speech analyzer software Praat. Based on data collected, it is maintained that Pakistani English is a non-native variety, which possesses distinct phonological traits. This study also investigates as to what happens when schwa is restructured and replaced with substitute phonemes under the influence of Urduized and regional dialects. It summarizes the discussion that Pakistani speakers incline to use spellings as milestone to pronunciation.

Keywords: Pakistani English, distinct variety, Received Pronunciation (RP), schwa, pronunciation, Praat

1. INTRODUCTION

Variation within a language is a universal phenomenon. Languages are observed to be ever-changing and dynamic. No language in the world is found analogous to its early version or lect. This slight variation in the language strengthens its roots in society. It is considered to be a linguistic symbol of development. This change ultimately leads to the birth of new variety of the same language. The variants are related to phonetic, morphological, syntactic or semantic features of the language. This process does not subvert the previous linguistic features rather this phenomenon is described as linguistic evolution. The variation floods in the language use by dint of elite class, bureaucracy, social media, literature, academia, and newspapers. All these reasons lead to the birth of Pakistani English, which is categorically assumed distinct particularly in phonological features. Pakistani English has been passing through its evolutionary stages for many years after the independence. The interaction of Punjabi, Sindhi, Urdu, Balochi, Siraiki, and other regional languages with English has made Pakistani English a distinct variety. Due to the language contact in various disciplines, Pakistani English has at least four distinct varieties, named as, anglicized Pakistani English, acrolect, mesolect, and basilect (Rehman, 1999).



This study examines a phonological variance in Pakistani English. This research investigates the vowels of Pakistani English with particular focus on schwa i.e. /ə/ a weak mid-central vowel sound in English and its role to make it a distinct variety of English language. The restructuring of schwa under the influence of Urduized and regional impact plays a vital role to entitle Pakistani English a distinct variety.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main questions of the study are:

- i. How do Pakistani speakers pronounce words containing schwa?
- ii. What phonological changes do happen when they are unable to pronounce schwa?
- iii. Do Pakistani speakers incline to use spellings as milestone to pronunciation?

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Pakistani English

Emergence of various Englishes in the world is the result of wholesale spread of English. This dispersion proves to be precursor of various dialects of English. Pakistani English has gone through a long process of evolution. Kachru and Nelson (2006) state that local usages and elements of Pakistani English are of justifiable interest. It is justifiable in the sense that it has established its identity in the World Englishes. It is regarded as systematized as Kachru (1986) considers Pakistani English as an institutionalized second language. Furthermore, Baumgardner (1995) believes that Pakistani English is nativized and institutionalized variety of English. It is as intelligible to other Asian languages as other varieties. The interaction of national and various regional languages with English has made Pakistani English a distinct variety. The long evolution of Pakistani English has resulted in various realizations.

3.2 Received Pronunciation (RP) and Standard British English

Honey (1985) investigates the emergence of the public school accent, which was common in 1870, and the term Received Pronunciation was used for the first time to describe the standard speech form of English. Hannisdal (2006) asserts that Received Pronunciation, or RP, is the linguistic term for the British English accent, which has traditionally served as a prestige variety and as a pronunciation model in the teaching of English as a foreign language. Common layman's terms for RP include The Queen's English, Public School Accent, Oxford English, BBC English, Standard English, talking without an accent, talking posh, etc. The acceptance of RP gives birth to Standard British English. There are various studies (Haugen, 1997; Hannisdal, 2006; Nevalainen, 2003), which strongly conclude that there are even emerging variants in RP which supports the present study that languages are found with their variant forms on the face of the earth.

3.3 Distinct Aspects of Pakistani English Phonology

This study deals with the sound change in general and the place of schwa in Pakistani English in particular. Pakistani English has its own linguistic features as Baumgardner (1989) maintains that Pakistani English develops its own linguistic identity and culture



that does not make it inferior to British Standard English. Haque (2003) asserts that the educated variety of Pakistani English has evolved over a period of prolonged use in the academic, administrative, legal, commercial, and diplomatic spheres of national life in Pakistan. The long process of evolution affects the adopted linguistic features, which are compatible to their native language. The same is the case with Pakistani English with respect to the weak vowel sound schwa.

3.4 Schwa: A Mid-Central Weak Vowel

Roach (2009) states that the most frequently occurring vowel in English is /ə/, which is always associated with weak syllables. In quality it is mid (i.e. halfway between close and open) and central (i.e. halfway between front and back). It is generally described as lax - that is, not articulated with much energy. The quality of this vowel is not always the same. This central vowel, which is called schwa, is a very familiar sound in English; it is heard in the first syllable of the words 'about', 'oppose', 'perhaps'.

3.5 Variant Features of Schwa in Pakistani English

Pakistani English has its definite phonological features. They are now documentized contrary to the past. Out of a number of phonological features identified by Platt et al (1984), the point of schwa is relevant to the study, which asserts that there is a tendency in emerging Englishes to replace the central vowels with either front or back vowels as in 'vehicle', the /9/ is replaced by /i/. The schwa is made longer e.g. 'sofa' is not pronounced with a schwa in the final position but with an $/\alpha$ /. According to Qaisra (2012), out of /e/, $/\alpha$ /, /p/ and /3/, schwa /9/ is also one which is deviant from RP (Received Pronunciation) in Pakistani context.

There are fewer evidences by the researchers for finding the rich use of schwa in Pakistani English except it happens spontaneously. Mahboob and Ahmar (2004) assert that Pakistani speakers do not reduce the vowel rather they use a full vowel, e.g. /lettar/ or /kɔ:mma/. Thus there are no observed instances of schwa in the data collected for their study.

Researchers explore new avenues in Pakistani English phonology and its common characteristics with other Asian Englishes. Bilal et al (2011) highlight some of the features of vowels of Pakistani English. Some of the phonological features of Pakistani English are narrated by Hickey, Mahboob, and Ahmar (2010). Out of many phonological features stated by the writers, the feature that Pakistani English tends to use spellings as guide to pronunciation is relevant with the research under discussion. The speakers of Pakistani English are prone to pronounce words following spellings as ultimate rule of pronunciation. Realizing that each sound must be spelling-bound, they have somewhat replaced the feature of schwa with Urdu equivalence.

3.6 Schwa as Teaching Material in the Syllabus

The researchers try to find out whether schwa is available in the teaching material in Punjab Text Book Board, Pakistan. It is found with the evidence that in both 9th and 10th Punjab Text Books, exercises are available on English phonemes and schwa is one of them. The existence of schwa in both text books and non-existence in Pakistani English



gives two assumptions: either school teachers do not teach English phonemes or students do not give evidence of using it. It is assumed that there is not positive transfer of schwa in Pakistani English. Having support from the evidences, there is assertion that schwa is one of the neglected phonological feature of Pakistani English.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a descriptive study to probe the use of schwa in Pakistani English phonology. From a private sector university in the vicinity of Lahore, thirty students admitted in MA English Language and Literature and BS English Programs are selected as the sample of the study to gain primary data. Convenience sampling technique is chosen to avoid disturbing timetable of the regular classes. Participants comprise eighteen male and twelve female students belonging to rural and urban areas of the Punjab, Pakistan. Their age group ranges from nineteen to twenty-two. They have Urdu or Punjabi as their first language and are exposed to English for at least fourteen years in their education. The participants are instructed about the study and its objectives. They are agreed to take part in the study.

4.1 Procedure and Data Collection Instruments

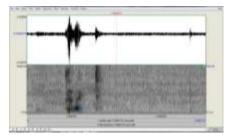
A word-list is prepared containing thirty words having schwa in at least one syllable. This list contains commonly used words. Some words are mono-syllable whereas others are multi-syllable. To have the real reflection of Pakistani English phonological features, the participants are not instructed to pronounce them carefully in the terms of right or wrong pronunciation rather they are guided to pronounce the words as they use them in real life context. While recording the pronunciation of the words spoken by the students, they are neither encouraged nor discouraged in their speaking patterns. Even the researchers also control their facial expressions to provide them natural setting. It is not possible to make students wait for their turn. It is decided to engage an assistant to record the reading of the students. In this way, thirty students are divided in two groups i.e. fifteen in each group. A quiet room is selected to record the reading of the students in smart cellular mobile phones supporting higher audio levels. After recording their performance, the researchers thank to all participants for contributing their valuable time for the study. The data are transcribed as recorded in a free natural setting to elicit the results of the study.

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND DATA INTERPRETATIONS

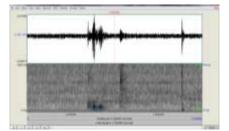
The analysis is divided into two sections: one is based on Paraat acoustic analysis and other contains descriptive analysis of collected data.

5.1 A Brief Acoustic Analysis

The following waveform and spectrogram are an instance of some analytical patterns adopted in this study. The researchers decide to present some screenshots from Praat speech analyzer. The right side spectrogram is the output of Standard British English downloadable pronunciation. The left side spectrogram is the output of Pakistani English Pronunciation. From the recorded data, only two words are randomly selected and compared to Standard British English pronunciation which are as follows:

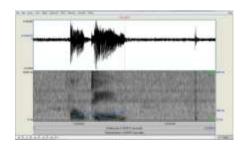


From Pakistani English

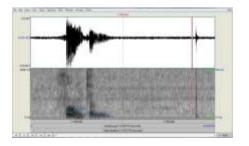


From Standard British English

A formant (henceforth F) is a concentration of acoustic energy around a particular frequency in the speech wave. The above cropped screen shots are the output of the acoustic analysis of the word *correct*. From Praat speech analyzer, the syllable containing schwa is selected and found out the values of F1 and F2. In the spectrogram representing Pakistani English, the dark patches show the concentration of energy and this is the result of schwa being not the prominent phonological feature of Pakistani English. In comparison with this spectrogram, the opposite one shows low black patches, which indicate the incorporation of schwa after the phoneme /k/. A random sample from Pakistani English data shows F1as much as 847 Hz and F2, 1897 Hz. F1 of Standard British English is 780 Hz and F2 is 1541 Hz.



From Pakistani English



From Standard British English

The above spectrograms depict the acoustic analysis of the word 'fountain'. The left spectrogram shows the concentration of energy in the form of dark patches after the phoneme /t/. The spectrogram, given opposite to it, shows the low indication of concentration of acoustic energy which gives evidence that in the Standard British English, the word 'fountain' is pronounced with schwa after the phoneme /t/. A random sample from Pakistani English data shows F1 equal to 441 Hz and F2, 1811 Hz. F1 of Standard British English is 420 Hz and F2 is 1514 Hz.

5.2 Descriptive Analysis of Data

In the study, the researchers delimit the study to scrutinize schwa in Pakistani English. Against British Standard transcription of listed words, collected from Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, each word is analyzed. Standard British English is taken as a yardstick for comparison. The purpose is not to dignify or degrade any dialect rather it is earnest desire to highlight the feature of Pakistani English, which is distinct in its phonological features. The following analysis shows as to what extent Pakistani English has the incorporation of schwa in its use.



5.2.1 Analysis of the word 'Banana' /bəˈnɑːnə/

100% students pronounce the word *Banana* with huge variation in comparison with RP. In Pakistani English, there is a tendency to pronounce words according to the spelling occurrence. Since the scope of the research is delimited to schwa, it is found that in both places after the phonemes of /b/ and /n/, there is a variation in the pronunciation of Pakistani speakers. The students pronounce the sound of the letter 'a' with English phoneme /a:/ though there is variation regarding the length of the long vowel /a:/.

5.2.2 Analysis of the word 'Character' / kærəktə(r)/

Most of the students replace the sound of the letter 'a' with phoneme /e/. Only 6% students pronounce it according to RP. The rest 94% students are prone to follow the spellings and they do not use schwa in the recommended place. The same percentage pronounces the phoneme / Λ / after the letter 't', which is a feature of Pakistani English. In this way, the tendency of the students is to pronounce both letters of 'a' in the word *character* with the phoneme /e/.

5.2.3 Analysis of the word 'Correct' /kəˈrekt/

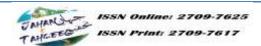
Most of the students are found to pronounce the word *correct* following the spelling-based pronunciation. 78% students pronounce the sound of the letter 'o' with /p/, which does not accord with RP. There are other words, which are pronounced in the same way in Pakistani English. Protect, today, tomorrow, together, tonight, and many more are spoken similarly to the words 'correct'. 22% students pronounce the given word with schwa. The analysis is the evidence that this word is spoken differently in Pakistani English compared to RP.

5.2.4 Analysis of the word 'Difference' / difrans/

While analyzing the given word *difference*, the researchers find the things moving on the same way. Most of the participants pronounce the given word following the spelling-based pronunciation. They change the sound of the letter 'e' with the phoneme /e/. The same examples in Pakistani English are wholesale in number. Most of Pakistani English speakers pronounce the letter 'e' in the suffix '-ment' in 'improvement' with the phoneme /e/, which is contrary to RP. 100% participants are found to pronounce the given word as is spoken in Pakistani English. This huge variation from RP gives an evidence of the distinct phonological features of Pakistani English.

5.2.5 Analysis of the word 'Distance' / 'distans/

Most of the participants show variation in the pronunciation of the word 'distance'. Students replace the sound of the letter 'a' with either /e/ or /æ/. This is the result of overgeneralization while pronouncing certain words. This generalization gives birth to Pakistani English. 92% students do not use schwa while pronouncing the word and only 8% students knowingly or unknowingly pronounce the given word according to RP. The



same overgeneralization occurs in the word *England*. Most of Pakistani English speakers replace the phoneme /ə / with /æ/ under the notion of overgeneralization.

5.2.6 Analysis of the word 'Enemy' / enami/

The word 'enemy' shows huge inclination of the participants toward dissimilar pronunciation to RP. Most of the participants pronounce the letter 'e' after 'n' with /ɪ/. 100% students pronounce the word with the notion of spelling-based pronunciation. No student pronounces the word as prescribed by RP. It is noticed the absence of schwa in Pakistani English in the analysis of the word *enemy*.

5.2.7 Analysis of the word 'England' / 'ingland'

The word *England* shows the absence of schwa in the data collected. Most participants pronounce the word in connection with the word *land*. But phonetic transcription shows that both words are entirely different. Students overgeneralize and show a distinct feature of Pakistani English. 100% students replace the weak vowel schwa after the letter 'l' with /æ/. In Pakistani English, most of the words ending with land, tend to be pronounced on the same way i.e. Ireland and Scotland. This word has deep-rooted effect of Urduized and regional impact of phonological variation.

5.2.8 Analysis of the word 'Pejorative' /pi'dʒprətɪv/

The data collected about the given word show multifarious changing in pronunciation. Since the study is based on the exploration of schwa in Pakistani English, it concentrates on the delimited feature. Most of the students again overgeneralize the letter 'a' and replace it with /e/, contrary to RP. 100% participants pronounce the word as is used without schwa in Pakistani English. No student pronounces schwa in the word Pejorative.

5.2.9 Analysis of the word 'Fountain' / fauntan/

The data collected about the word *fountain* is quite interesting. Most of the participants pronounce the sound of the cluster 'ai' as /e:/ and the same case is with the word mountain.96% students replace the cluster 'ai' with /e:/ whereas only 4% participants pronounce it according to the British Standard English. This pronunciation may also be the result of the spelling of the Muslim names, which affect pronunciation.

5.2.10 Analysis of the word 'Island' / ailənd/

The analysis of the word *island* reveals the same phonological features in which the incorporation of schwa is found absent. Pakistani speakers overgeneralize the letter 'a' with the phoneme /æ/ as in the word cat, which is pronounced as /kæt/. On the spur of this overgeneralization, most of the students pronounce *land* in the word island as /lænd/. 100% students show variation in pronunciation whereas no student is observed pronouncing the given word according to British Standard English.



5.2.11 Analysis of the word 'Moment' / məomənt/

Pakistani English speakers are prone to pronounce the letter 'e' with the phoneme /e/ in most of the cases if it is not coming at the end of the word. The same case is with the word *moment*, which gives the pronunciation of the suffix *-ment* as /ment/. This variant phonological feature is quite prominent in Pakistani English, which neglects schwa and incorporates spelling-based pronunciation. 100% students pronounce the given word replacing schwa with /e/.

5.2.12 Analysis of the word 'Mountain' / maontan/

The analysis of the word 'mountain' is same as *fountain*. Both of the words are pronounced in Pakistani English on the same ground. The consonant cluster 'ai' is pronounced with the phoneme /e:/. Participants pronounce the given word with the absence of schwa after the letter 't'.

5.2.13 Analysis of the word 'Movement' / 'muːvmənt/

The recorded pronunciation of the given word is also reflective of overgeneralization. Pakistani English speakers tend to pronounce words on the base of spelling occurrence. The analysis of the word is quite close to the word *involvement*. According to RP, the suffix —*ment* is pronounced with schwa after the letter 'm'. All participants pronounce the letter 'e' with the phoneme /e/. Students do not pronounce the given word incorporating schwa, which is all due to the influence of Urduized English pronunciation.

5.2.14 Analysis of the word Monarchy / mpnəki/

Most of the participants always pronounce the letter 'a' as /a:/, which is a long vowel. No recorded material is found to show schwa. The analysis of the word gives an element of overgeneralization and spelling-bound pronunciation prevalent in Pakistani English. Schwa, as well as $/\theta/$ and $/\delta/$, is considered to be a distinct phonological feature in Pakistani English

5.2.15 Analysis of the word 'Necessary' / 'nesəsəri/

The data collected about the word *necessary* is quite interesting. A few students pronounce the given word according to British Standard English. Most of the students show variation in pronunciation. Students tend to follow spellings regarding three vowels e, e and a. Data show that they do not pronounce schwa in any syllable of the word. 96% students show variation in the pronunciation. Only 4% students resemble to British Standard English.

5.2.16 Analysis of the word 'Phonological' / fəʊnəˈlɒdʒɪkl/

In the light of data collected, students do not use schwa in any syllable of the given word. In the British Standard English, schwa is pronounced after the letter 'n' in the word



'phonological. But most of the participants replace schwa with /ov/ American English phoneme. Participants do not incorporate schwa in the word under analysis. Data show that schwa is the least visible feature in Pakistani English.

5.2.17 Analysis of the word 'Policy' / 'ppləsi/

Most of the students pronounce the given word while replacing it with phoneme /I/ after the letter '1'. There is observed a huge variation in the pronunciation of the given word in comparison with British Standard English. This word is also frequently used in Urdu. Most of the participants use this word in Pakistani English as is spoken in Urdu with its regional variations.

5.2.18 Analysis of the word 'President' / prezident/

In Urdu, this word is used under the influence of the regional phonological impact. In the analysis of the word, the use of schwa is not observed. The ultimate syllable *dent* is recorded to have /e/ after the letter 'd'. Participants are found to pronounce /e/ in the last syllable of the word.

5.2.19 Analysis of the word :Private' / praivat/

This word is also nativized in Urdu and other regional languages in Pakistan. It adopts the regional features of phonology in the localized use. It is observed in the collected data that there is no strong evidence of using schwa in the given word. Most of the participants replace schwa, after the letter 'v' with /e:/. No evidence is found in the data to indicate the use of schwa in the last syllable of the word under analysis.

5.2.20 Analysis of the word 'Probable' / probabl

In the given word, 96 % participants replace the weak vowel schwa with /æ/. They pronounce the syllable /babl/ as /bæbl/ not knowing how to use schwa in the prescribed syllable. No evidence from the data is found which reveals the proper use of weak vowel i.e. schwa. Every participant is under the notion of pronouncing the syllables with prominent pronunciation of each phoneme.

5.2.21 Analysis of the word 'Probably' / 'probabli/

The analysis of the word 'probably' gives us the carbon copy feature of the previous word. Most of the participants pronounce the syllable /bəbli/ as /bæbli/. It is under the influence of overgeneralization, which compels them to pronounce each syllable with full force.

5.2.22 Analysis of the word 'Pronunciation' /pra_nansi ei[n/

This word is frequently used in English classes but data collected show that Pakistani English speakers do not constantly incorporate schwa in their speech. As we see that



most of the speakers are prone to follow spellings while pronouncing English words. The same situation is prevalent in the case of the given word *pronunciation*. Participants pronounce the first syllable with /ov/ instead of /ə/ after the letter 'r'. Data show that in Pakistani English, speakers are not conscious about the use of schwa.

5.2.23 Analysis of the word 'Protect' /prəˈtekt/

In the analysis of *protect*, it is traced that participants pronounce the first syllable with /oʊ/ an American phoneme instead of /ə/ after the letter 'r'. The trace of schwa is not observed in the word under analysis. Most of the students pronounce the first syllable as /prou/ instead of /prə/. It shows the sharp contrast with RP and distinct phonological feature of Pakistani English.

5.2.24 Analysis of the word 'Society' /səˈsaɪəti/

The data regarding the pronunciation of the word indicate that most of Pakistani English speakers pronounce English words with deep-rooted inclination of pronouncing all phonemes. Most of the participants pronounce American phoneme /ov/ after the letter 's'. No evidence is found regarding the pronunciation of schwa in the collected data. The word under analysis is one of the frequently used borrowed words in Urdu. It is observed that under the influence of Urdu and regional languages, Pakistani English speakers have localized its pronunciation.

5.2.25 Analysis of the word 'Thoroughly' / '0Arəli/

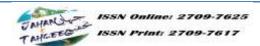
The data collected about the given word *thoroughly* show that there is another evidence of not using schwa. Most of the students pronounce American phoneme /ov/ after the letter 'r'. No recorded material show that participants use schwa in the second syllable. It may be the result of overgeneralization and cause distinct phonological features of Pakistani English.

5.2.26 Analysis of the word 'Today' /təˈdeɪ/

It is observed that participants pronounce the word *today* with first syllable as /to/, not prescribed in RP. No recorded material shows pronunciation as near as /tə/. The data show that Pakistani English is distinct variety, which is the result of spelling-bound pronunciation.

5.2.27 Analysis of the word 'Together' /təˈgeðə(r)/

The description of the given word has the same feature as given in the description of 'today'. As recorded by the researchers, participants pronounce the word with first syllable as /to/. No recorded material shows pronunciation as near as /tə/. It is the result of spelling-bound pronunciation of Pakistani English. Pakistani speakers are prone to pronounce each phoneme prominently.



5.2.28 Analysis of the word 'Tomorrow' /təˈmɒrəʊ/

Data show that participants pronounce word with first syllable as /to/. No recorded material show pronunciation as near as /tə/. This word gives another evidence of Pakistani English Phonology dissimilar to other varieties of English. The pronunciation of the word gives inclination of Urduized and local influence on English.

5.2.29 Analysis of the word 'Tonight' /təˈnaɪt/

The word under analysis gives the similar data as collected regarding the words today, together, and tomorrow. Participants pronounce the given word with the first syllable as /to/ contrary to RP. No trace of /tə/ is found in the first syllable of *tonight*. This seems to be the extension of previous three words. It is realized that even media announcements use the same pronunciation given in the analysis.

5.2.30 Analysis of the word 'Woman' / woman/

The word 'woman' show the same distinct Pakistani English phonological feature. The participants pronounce the given word dissimilar to RP. 100 % participants pronounce the second syllable of the word 'man' as /mæn/. No use of schwa is recorded in the responses of the participants. It is observed that it is the result of overgeneralization, which appears to be wide spread and has similar effect on the clusters.

6 CONCLUSION

In the light of the data analysis, it is summarized that realization of schwa is different in Pakistani English. Its speakers pronounce words differently as compared to RP with exclusive reference to schwa. It is explored that instead of schwa various other phonemes are incorporated in the speech. In most of the cases, schwa is restructured and substituted worth investigating. Due to various substitutions of schwa, Pakistani English is entitled to be a recognizable international variety of English. This depiction of phonological variation becomes the precursor to other varieties of English. Data reveal that the Pakistani English speakers incline to use spellings as milestone to pronunciation and they are under the influence of Urduized pronunciation. This study also unveils that English pronunciation is very slippery and unpredictable. Moreover, this study may be extended to other provinces of Pakistan to explore whether the same phonological trait is prevalent or some new features crop up in pronunciation. Due to its limitations, the results may not be generalized in all provinces of Pakistan or on those speakers whose L1 is English. However, it seems to become a pointer in the field of exploring distinct phonological features of new emerging Englishes.

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